2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

some said, look at them. Nevertheless, they brought blessing to the whole household since it was unthinkable that the owner's fate should be separated from that of his family group. 422

To some extent, this blessing was general good luck but the owner of a fetish also earned food by it. The owners of the purification and the curing fetishes were all empowered to cure certain ailments and, for this work, they received their meals. "Thus you will feed yourself" was the regular encouragement given them at the purification ceremony. But the shaman had the rank of a specialist with a highly paid craft. In fact, it was paid out of proportion to all other services so that he stood alone as the one person whose income was great enough to make him independent of the family. This independence, so contrary to the social scheme, must have contributed to the fear in which the shaman was held. 422 [277] 756 465

Songs and ritual were also individual property. The owner of a dreamed song could work magic with it and receive a meal just as he would if he helped harvest a field. But he could not sell it. Such a song, to have magic, must be dreamed by the singer and people resorted to many expedients to convince themselves that they had dreamed a song. But pay was not one of them. Ritual was not dreamed but was handed down in families, the current practitioner choosing his heir from among the eligible males. Reciters of this sort of ritual had the function of priests and were not renumerated. 424 424 428

Much Papago property was destroyed and buried at a death. The house was burned if possible, but the heavy posts being hard to obtain, the thatching was sometimes burned and the posts moved. The clothing, paints and tools of the individual were buried with him, also food and water and as much more equipment as could be spared. A man might have a buckskin and a woman a jar or two. Fetishes and shaman's equipment were not buried but kept by the family. 768 764

Arrangements have been changed in recent years since the Papago have owned more property. The house, now of wattle and daub, is never destroyed but those who keep to the old customs at all, often bury large amounts of property with the corpse, buying new saddles, clothes and canned goods for the purpose. A man's horse, which had something the status of a tool that he used, was often killed at the grave, though not now.

Cattle are considered family property and distributed to the children. They should, logically, be mens' goods, since their care belongs entirely to the men but modern life has brought no corresponding womens' goods and, in the instances known to the writer daughters have received cattle as well as sons. But customs, in this 768 428

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
PIMA NU29

Pa 439 Gila. The Mexicanization of southern Papagueria can be laid largely to these winter trading trips. However, the people with whom trade was carried on were the Mexican Papago and the method was essentially Indian.

Trade with the Yuma was less frequent but of old standing. In 1698, while Kino was at Kuitatk, an old woman trudged into town from the west, with a pack on her back containing snails and little shells from the sea which she herself had brought from there.[1] She had probably been close to Yuma territory.

LABOR

Pa 464 Often what the Papago had to exchange was not goods but labor. Within the geographic unit, there was constant need for assistance 465 in planting, harvesting, housebuilding, ditch digging, spinning, arrow making. Any individuals available gave their labor and their household was repaid in labor. goods or, sometimes, goodwill. But if no relatives were available, neighbors would be called on. The pay for such labor was return labor when it was needed and the meals eaten while working. But the meals were a very slight expense for "In old days people never ate much." For what was needed, there was abundance.

Pa 241 Harvest was in a class by itself for, at this time, the workers were often paid in produce. To invite relatives to help at harvest 464 was a favor to them and families invited the distant ones seriatim 465 in different years. Such an invitation meant a close tie and the family sometimes went into council as to who should receive it. The group in App. I, 5, took turns in inviting the wife's relatives and the husband's. As pay, they asked them to help themselves but the amount they took would be regulated by what they thought they could repay. One informant mentioned two sacks of wheat out of ten or "a pile" of unhusked corn or beans about three feet in diameter (21).

With the present scattering of Papago residence, relatives are not always available and neighbors are invited. No bargain is made but they are paid, as in trade, with whatever the giver can afford. "But those who are stingy can't get any one to work for them. I always have lots of help because I give a big pile of melons or a Pi sack of wheat" (2).

Pa It was on this same basis that the Papago worked for other people and, since their most constant employers were the Pima, we may 464 assume that the pay was calculated in the same way. The River 241

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

always get odd jobs, such as mowing lawns, in the cities. Almost every youth in the western districts works at the Ajo mine at sometime between the ages of eighteen and thirty. Here at unskilled labor he can earn $3.00 a day; in wartime wages ran as high as $7.00.

Papago youth in mines, in cotton fields, or on ranches work side by side with other Indians or Mexicans and have little direct contact with whites. White employers treat the Indians with friendliness and often make concessions to retain good workers. but away from work the Indians live together or with Mexicans and Chinese in the poorer quarters of the city, so that it is the lower strata of economic life in Arizona with which they become familiar. They do not, however, experience some of the discriminations endured by minority groups in many parts of the country: most cafes serve Indians, and they are not segregated at the movies and other public places.

Young people working off the Reservation are relatively free from family influence, and, though many send part of their wages home, they still have much more money to spend than they ever had before. Now and then girls on their own in the city drift into trouble and are sent home, but they seldom become recognized prostitutes. Boys are likely to spend a good deal of their new-found wealth on liquor; their families at home expect the boys to do some drinking, still they worry lest the lads become involved in brawls that will lead to the white man's jail.

The youth himself is terrified of the law. Instead of being reassured by the supposedly impersonal and impartial character of white men's justice, he fears what seems to him its rigid inflexibility. If he does wrong at home, his family may lecture him or even call in the village elders to talk to him about the error of his ways, but the youth knows that he will be judged on his own merits and not on what is written down in a white man's book. Most important, he will not be shut up far from his family and his desert.

Sometimes young people marry when they leave the Reservation to take jobs. By and large, however, they go for only short periods or at most a few years. Family ties may become tenuous, but they are seldom broken. The wage-earner usually sends money home and expects to return to the village some day.

GETTING READY FOR MARRIAGE

Papago boys and girls do not associate in unchaperoned groups, for the girls are kept under constant surveillance. In the old days a girl who went unaccompanied away from the house cluster was considered fair game for any man or boy. Even today in her home village a girl never goes anywhere alone, unless

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The author's summary of findings will be found in Table 24 where he analyses his sample in terms of Papago man hours of farm work compared with other workers; in Table 25 where man hours are given in percentages; and in Table 26 where earnings, calculated for the sample, are projected to the total amounts earned by all farm workers in Pima County.

An interesting distinction is made between temporary farm work and seasonal farm work. This was possible because farmers keep their own records on temporary employees who are hired for many types of jobs during the year. Seasonal workers, on the other hand, are hired by labor contractors (crew leaders) to take care of peak periods of farm labor demand.

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Table 24. Number of Workers, Man-Hours, and Earnings by Category of Work and Ethnic Affiliation from a Sample of Pima County Farms.

Work Categories		Non-Indian Amount	Papago Only Amount	Other Indian Amount	All Workers Amount
Direct Permanent full time	No. workers*	164	41	8	213
	Total man-hrs.	492,000	107,004	20,880	619,884
	Total wages	$531,040	$121,764	$23,760	$696,564
Direct Temporary part time	No. workers*	64	227	9	300
	Total man-hrs.	46,126	111,330	7,200	164,856
	Total wages	$ 34,594	$ 83,647	$ 5,400	$123,641
Indirect crew leaders' crews	No. workers*	261	146	158	565
	Total man-hrs.	133,377	116,220	89,100	338,697
	Total wages	$ 86,695	$ 75,543	$57,915	$220,153
All Work Activities	No. workers*	489	414	175	1,078
	Total man-hrs.	671,303	334,754	117,180	1,123,437
	Total wages	$672,329	$280,954	$87,075	$1,040,358

*These worker figures do not represent discrete units, except in one category--"Direct Permanent." For the other two categories they represent contacts with actual persons, who may or may not have been recalled by name, which were recorded primarily for the purpose of facilitating the informants' and investigators' computation of man-hours which do represent discrete units.

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Table 25. Percentage of Total Man-Hours by Category of Work and Ethnic Affiliation of Workers from a Sample of Pima County Farms.

	Non-Indian	Papago Only	Other Indian	All Workers
Direct Permanent	79.3%	17.3%	3.4%	100%
Direct Temporary	28.0	67.6	4.4	100
Indirect	39.4	34.3	26.3	100
All Work Activities	39.8	39.8	10.4	100

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Table 26. Projection of Sample Findings as an Estimate of Total Income from Farm Work in Pima County by Ethnic Affiliation of Workers*

Work Categories	Non-Indian	Papago Only	Other Indian	All Workers
Direct Permanent Full Time	$1,238,292	$273,627	$53,393	$1,565,312
Direct Temporary Part Time	77,739	187,971	12,135	277,843
Indirect Crew Leaders Crews	194,820	169,760	130,146	494,726
All Work Activities	1,510,852	631,358	195,674	2,337,883

* Projections for the entire county were calculated by dividing the item--wages in this case--by ".445" the fraction of total county acreage (66,875) that the acreage of the sample farms (29,796) comprised. Average wage for permanent workers was $1.00 per hour plus about $30 per month in other benefits, for direct temporary workers it was 75¢ per hour and for indirect workers it was 65¢ per hour.

19: Dobyns NU28 Papago NU28

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[For the author's predictions and projections on the future of Papago migratory farm labor (employment and wage levels, recruiting and labor relations, labor camp living conditions and sanitary facilities) in view of probable technological and economic changes in regional commercial agriculture, see category 116, pp. 99-135.]

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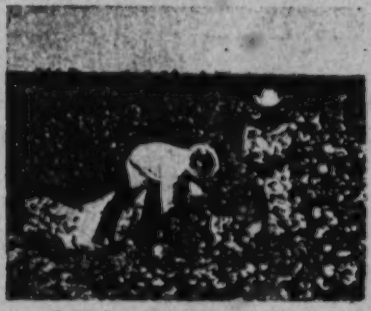
Picking is two-hand work . . .
you have to move fast . . .



and you have to stoop down low . . .

drink your water out of a barrel . . .

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and climb up high . . .

but the pay is very welcome.

465 The standard rate for picking upland cotton in southern Arizona during the 1950 season was $3.00 per 100 pounds. So the average daily wage for Papago men was approximately $6.00, with a range from about $3.85 up to $9.00.

462 465 Papago women apparently are slower pickers than their husbands. They seem to average about 150 pounds a day of upland cotton.[1] This would give them a daily wage of $4.50. For the 5½-day work week Papago men averaged about $33 and their wives about $25. However, since women generally take time off from picking to wash clothes, do some cooking, clean up the cabin, etc., it is likely that many of them earn no more than $12 to $15 per week. There were 17 weeks between September 1, 1950, and the 434 end of the year. The hypothetical average Papago man could have earned some $560 picking cotton over this period. His wife could have added about $200 to $425 depending on how many days in the week she worked. In families with husband and wife picking, income for the season could run $750 to $1,000. It is extremely doubtful if any Papago family actually earned so much.

461 293 [434] One reason income of the Desert People in the fields is lower than the theoretically possible figure is that they do not seem to put in a full work week. Their work week is nearer 4½ than 5½ days,[2] lumping men and women together. This simply indicates men put in a full 5½ day week, but women only work about half the days in the week. An important factor in time lost from work by the Desert People is liquor. Cotton farmers are almost unanimous in their condemnation of Indian drinking. The usual opinion is Papagos start drinking Friday night, and are unable to work Monday, wobbly Tuesday, at full steam Wednesday. Of course, this picture in farmers' minds has been painted by exceptional individual Papagos and doesn't represent accurately the situation for all Papagos. But it does reflect the great amount of time lost by many Papago individuals because of their drinking habits.

461 796 Another cause of lost working time for Papago harvesters is the religious celebration. Most important is the fiesta of St. Francis in October. Many farmers throw up their hands then, and gripe loudly about families that

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 91]

[1] Only 3 women told the author how much they picked, and 1 worked a short day. They averaged 130 pounds per day.
[2] 8 Papagos in both counties who didn't lose time from drunkenness worked 37 days in the week preceeding their interview, an average of 4.6.

221 434 461 [466] mid September and losing 2 weeks for trips would earn about $585 during the season. Although this is $50 or so under the amount the same family might make picking upland cotton, the Desert People are willing to pick American-Egyptian varieties. This is a point in their favor with cotton farmers, who have a difficult time hiring enough pickers to harvest long staple plantings. It is 1 reason growers favor Indian cotton pickers--they pick whatever cotton is in front of them, American-Egyptian or upland, scattered or thick, without grumbling. They don't sneak clods or rocks into their sacks to make weight, but on the contrary pick clean, high grading fiber. These are most attractive traits to farmers harrassed by more articulate hands willing to trim profit-fat farmers by sharp practice if possible.

PAYMENT

● 465 Information gathered in this study indicates there is no differences in cotton pickers' payment for any reason other than growers bidding for labor. Over most of the picking season, pickers of every size, age, and description receive a standard price for their cotton, agreed on beforehand by growers. In 1950 this standard piece-work rate was $3.00 per 100 pounds of upland cotton and $5.00 or $6.00 per 100 of American-Egyptian. Toward the end of the season there was some variation as growers bid for the shrinking supply of labor willing to clean up picked-over fields. Some paid $7 per 100 for long-staple picking. Some paid $2.25 and some $2.50 for "snapping" upland--breaking bolls off entire from the stems. Others paid $3.00 for picking what could be picked and snapping the rest.

There is no such uniformity in method of payment. A majority of growers pay off their hands in cash every time the picker weighs a sack of cotton,[1] or every evening for the weight picked that day. The practice of keeping a cash box in the field to pay pickers as they weigh in is commoner in Pima than in Pinal county. Almost two-thirds

[1] 44 growers of 85 who gave information paid in cash: 52%. The 85 planted 28,630 acres of cotton, averaging 336.8 acres, 8.3 larger than the average of all farms studied, so they may be taken as quite representative.

●465 of the Pima county farmers pay cash,[1] while the proportion falls under half in Pinal county, to just over two-fifths of the growers.[2]

About half as many farmers as pay in cash use cotton tickets. These are pasteboards slightly larger than the ones a ticket-taker tears up when you go to a play. They are printed in job-shops of country weekly newspapers of the cotton country. The name of the grower or contractor identifies the ticket. Around the edge are printed series of figures, so the weighman in the field punches out the number of pounds of cotton a picker weighs in. Punched tickets may be cashed by the grower himself. More often he arranges with a storekeeper to honor his tickets. One woman real estate broker did a land-office business in 1950 cashing tickets for growers around Eloy. If a grower cashes his own tickets, he usually does so at regular intervals, often a week. Slightly over 20% of the farms in both counties apparently use tickets,[3] with this method of payment about twice as popular in Pinal as in Pima county.[4]

Various sorts of written accounts are third most prevelent among payment methods, and the most open to abuse, especially in picking crews with a weighman speaking a different language than their own. The account-keeping technique least open to cheating on either side was a system of giving each picker a receipt from an ordinary receipt book with his weight of cotton written on it, the weighman keeping a carbon copy. Most accounts seen in this study were kept in ruled books by the weighman and pickers either did not receive a receipt, or did only when they requested one. Pickers whose weights were kept in such accounts went longest between pay-days of any found in this study. Some were paid only every 2 weeks, and 1 for some unknown reason was paid at the odd interval of every 8 days. Slightly less than a fifth of the growers used an account system.[5] Again this method was used about

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[1] 22 growers of 34 giving data (with 9,026.5 acres of cotton averaging 265.4 acres each or 6.8 less than the county average indicated by this study)---65%.

[2] 22 growers of 51 giving data (with 19,603½ acres, averaging 384.4 acres or 6.6 more than the county average indicated in this study)---43%.

[3] 19 of the 85 farms, or 22%.

[4] 5 of 34 farms in Pima county or 15% used tickets; 14 of 51 in Pinal or 27½% used them.

[5] 16 of the 85 farms giving information used accounts, 19%.

465 twice as often in Pinal as in Pima county,[1] and it was used most often with non-English speaking crews--Spanish or Papago speaking pickers.

A small proportion of the growers, all large enough cotton farmers to use more than one picking crew, used some mixture of these three methods of payment.[2] And in Pima county one grower's cotton was being picked by a Negro family which received a share of the proceeds for the entire cultivation and harvesting of the crop.[3]

427 465 466 The small incidence of share-cropping in southern Arizona contrasts strongly with the American South, and is reminiscent of South Africa, where rarely native tenants clear prickly pear from European farmers' land for building and grazing rights. There, as in Arizona, almost all farmers pay their native laborers cash.[4] Another Arizona contrast to the old South is a lack of company stores. Groceries operated by cotton farmers on their farms are very rare, occurring on only about 2 or 3 farms out of a hundred.

465 466 Out in the cotton field where harvesters work and are paid or credited with cotton they have picked, the man or woman at the scales is the key figure in the economic scene. The weigher pays off.

In Pima county cotton growers with smaller farms usually do this task themselves, and a high proportion of Pima county operators spend their days in the fields during picking season. In Pinal county the owner may drop by the field once in a while in his shiny Buick, but an employee or contractor mans his scales. The weigher received quite uniformly 25¢ per hundred pounds of cotton weighed in 1950.

A good majority of weighers or contractors and a few men employed to tramp down cotton in trailers took advantage of their strategic location to make some extra money off harvesters. They brought bottled sodas to the fields for sale at 10¢ a bottle. Sometimes they iced the drinks, but often didn't bother.

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[1] In Pinal county 11 of 51 farmers, 22%. Pima was 5 of 34 or 15%.
[2] 5 of the 85, or 6%, 4 of 41 in Pinal and 1 of 34 in Pima county.
[3] 1 of 34 in the county studied.
[4] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.

WHY the Desert People work

461 464 The Desert People pick cotton because they need the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton harvesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$9 a day is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very close to the concept of the economic man governed only by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cultural reasons for this attitude and need among the Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

177 178 Originally the Papago people lived in a manner quite different than they do today. After unknown centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians. But the Desert People have had some contacts with Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not meanings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own. Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago culture remain Indian in character. The most complete and striking changes have probably occurred in the economic spheres of life.

174 431 437 [224] Once material goods apparently changed hands among the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A successful hunter divided his kill among families in his village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an economic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond its members for aid.

175 190 199 [234] [241] [465] When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People they set out to change the Indians spiritually and economically. They introduced new crops and domestic animals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Missionaries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvesting and other work (and even for attending mass at first)

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at the missions. Familiarity with the work-exchange idea prepared Papagos for the system of barter prevalent in the rural areas on the frontiers of New Spain. At least by the time New Spain won its independence and called itself Mexico the Desert People had begun to work and trade for money. But their homeland economy was still on a barter basis, and did not go onto a cash basis until after many years of control by Anglo-Americans.

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Anglos established the first stores the Desert People had seen, and brought a much wider selection of foods and goods to be purchased with cash. Anglos were in the habit of paying for labor in cash rather than kind. As the Indians began to want the new foods and goods their own economy collapsed. Always the Desert People had survived on a very narrow margin in their resource-poor environment. But they always got by. Now as they acquired tastes for new foods and desires for new goods, their resources could not supply the surplus needed to purchase them. The Papagos had to convert their only unexploited resource--their own labor--into the cash they needed to buy new necessities. Their economy changed from a food-gathering-agricultural-hunting-work exchange subsistence economy to a wage labor-agricultural cash economy.

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The role Papago women have played in these changes cannot be overemphasized. They found it far easier to prepare and cook foods from trading posts than to gather the desert foods, prepare and cook them. Half the food eaten on the reserves now is purchased.[1] Many articles of Anglo technology--irons, sewing machines, flour, etc. --made women's work easier, and Papago women adopted them. This has meant Papago men and frequently women too had to work for cash to pay for purchased foods and sewing machines and cloth and durable goods.

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This need for cash is recognized by the realistic Desert People and moves them to hire out for wage labor. They have wants which they feel strongly. They realize their wants can be satisfied only with cash, and they have found cash can be acquired in most cases only by marketing their labor, since it is the major Papago resource. Their other resources simply cannot produce the cash necessary to satisfy their wants.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.